

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
DIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 KHARTOUM 3937

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, PINT, PDEV, PGOV, SU
SUBJ: SOUTHERN SUDAN POLITICAL SURVEY

REF: KHARTOUM 3897 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: AUTONOMOUS SOUTHERN REGION (SR) OF SUDAN HAS NEWLY-
ELECTED GOVERNMENT HEADED BY FORMER REBEL GENERAL JOSEPH
LAGU. SINCE GAINING CONTROL, LAGU'S REGIME HAS BEEN PURSUING
THREE OBJECTIVES: DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHERN REGION, SECURITY
OF FOOD AND FUEL SUPPLY, AND "NATIONALISTIC" SELF-SUFFICIENCY
WITHIN UNITED SUDAN. DEVELOPMENT CAMPAIGN IS STARTING
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SLOWLY BUT PRESENT ADMINISTRATION SHOWS GREATER INITIATIVE
THAN PREDECESSOR GOVERNMENT OF ABEL ALIER. FOOD AND
FUEL SUPPLY SURVIVED SERIOUS CRISIS THIS SUMMER WITH
HELP OF NIMEIRI BUT REMAINS UNSOLVED PROBLEM. "NATIONAL-
ISTIC" SELF-SUFFICIENCY FOR SR MEANS ACHIEVEMENT OF
MORE UNITED, CHAUVINISTIC AND ECONOMICALLY CAPABLE REGION
WHICH CAN DEAL WITH POSSIBLE NIMEIRI SUCCESSOR IN KHARTOUM

ON TERMS OF EQUALITY. LAGU DOES NOT FORESEE ATTEMPT AT SECESSION AGAIN BUT PLANS TO BE IN POSITION WHERE SUCH OPTION IS REASONABLE. HE HOPES TO LEAD SR GOVERNMENT TO GREATER SELF-SUFFICIENCY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. OBJECTIVES OF SR'S NEW LEADERSHIP ARE PURSUED WITH EYE ON SOUTHERN OPPOSITION AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN KHARTOUM. EXISTENCE OF OPPOSITION IS DRAG ON LAGU'S STRATEGY AND HE IS ATTEMPTING TO WIN OVER, COOPT OR NEUTRALIZE OUSTED INCUMBENTS OF ALIER GOVERNMENT. RELATIONS WITH KHARTOUM GOVERNMENT REMAIN THAT OF DEPENDENCY AND THEREFORE CIVIL, BUT SOUTH IS SUSPICIOUS OF NORTHERN STAFF AND INTENDS TO GET OUT FROM UNDER AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. LOYALTY TO NIMEIRI REMAINS FIRM BUT NO AFFECTION IS WASTED BETWEEN BUREAUCRACIES. PERTINENT TO POLITICAL SURVEY IS REMINDER THAT NORTH AND SOUTH SUDANESE DO NOT UNDERSTAND OR LIKE EACH OTHER AND ARE COMPETITORS FOR INADEQUATE RESOURCES. IMPLICATIONS FOR USG POLICY ARE NOT NECESSARILY DISCOURAGING, HOWEVER, AS SR IS NOT THREAT TO NIMEIRI AND IS PROBABLY AN ASSET. DIRECT USG ASSISTANCE TO SR WOULD BE BENEFICIAL AND NIMEIRI COULD COPE POLITICALLY WITH SUCH AID. NO BASIC PROBLEM FOR USG SHOULD ARISE WHILE SR MAKES SLOW PROGRESS TOWARDS ITS OBJECTIVES. END SUMMARY

1. AUTONOMOUS SOUTHERN REGION (SR) OF SUDAN, CONTAINING 6 OF SUDAN'S 18 PROVINCES, HAS ITS OWN REGIONAL ASSEMBLY (SOUTHERNERS ARE ALSO REPRESENTED IN PEOPLE'S CONFIDENTIAL

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NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN KHARTOUM), SEPARATE ADMINISTRATION AND CONSIDERABLE AUTONOMY. OTHER DOZEN PROVINCES ARE ADMINISTERED DIRECTLY FROM KHARTOUM. THIS UNIQUE SYSTEM WAS CREATED IN 1972 TO BRING END TO 17-YEAR WAR BETWEEN BLACK AFRICAN, NON-MUSLIM SOUTHERNERS AND ARAB-DOMINATED NORTHERNERS. AFTER 1972 THERE WAS MONUMENTAL TASK OF RECONSTRUCTING WAR-TORN REGION. BY 1977/78, HOWEVER, REGIONAL GOVERNMENT APPEARED TIRED AND INEFFECTUAL. SR DRIFTED IN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL AIMLESSNESS UNTIL FEBRUARY 1978 WHEN REFORMIST EX-REBELS TOOK ADVANTAGE OF NIMEIRI'S AMNESTY AND RECONCILIATION CAMPAIGN TO WIN CONTROL OF SOUTHERN ASSEMBLY IN FREE ELECTIONS. FORMER REBEL GENERAL JOSEPH LAGU WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF SR'S HIGHER EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, THUS IS SENIOR EXECUTIVE IN SOUTH. SINCE GAINING CONTROL, LAGU'S ADMINISTRATION HAS PURSUED THREE OBJECTIVES: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, SECURITY OF FOOD AND FUEL SUPPLY, AND NATIONALISTIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY.

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2. ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENTAL PROBLEMS OF SR WERE BLAMED ON DISHONESTY AND INEPTITUDE OF ABEL ALIER'S PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION WHICH IS PROBABLY CORRECT BUT UNFAIR UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES. STRESSING HONESTY AND GOOD MANAGEMENT, LAGU HAS IN FACT NOT MADE IMPRESSIVE START TOWARDS GETTING SOUTHERN ECONOMY OFF DEAD CENTER IN VIEW OF INSUFFICIENT TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS, FINANCIAL SYSTEMS, CAPITAL AND MANPOWER. HOWEVER, HIS NEW OFFICIALS DISPLAY MORE INITIATIVE AND FEISTINESS THAN PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. THEY ARE NOT AFRAID TO TRY NEW IDEAS UNWELCOME IN KHARTOUM, SUCH AS ESTABLISHING INDEPENDENT CORPORATION TO OPERATE SOUTHERN TRUCK AND RIVER ROUTES AND, THEY SAY, SOUTHERN AIR-
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WAYS AND RAILWAYS SOME DAY. WELCOMING NON-SUDANESE MANAGEMENT, THEY HAVE ALREADY DRAWN UP LONG-RANGE STRATEGIES FOR FOSTERING TRADE AND COMMERCE. SR IS DEVELOPING TRADE ROUTES TO KENYA AND OTHER NEIGHBORS. ALTHOUGH SR

HAS WAY TO GO BEFORE SCHOOLS, POST OFFICES, CLINICS AND BIRDGES ARE AT LEAST AS NUMERIOUS AS THEY WERE IN 1955, LAGU'S ADMINISTRATION HAS LARGE HOPES AND FIERCE AMBITION.

3. SECURITY OF FOOD AND FUEL SUPPLY FOR SR HIT NADIR DURING SUMMER MONTHS. SOUTHERN OFFICIALS CLAIM THEY HAD "FAMINE," WHICH WAS NOTED EVEN IN OFFICIAL REPORTS (KHARTOUM 3362). CRISIS WAS RESOLVED AFTER THREE SR MINISTERS WENT TO NIMEIRI IN JULY WITH REPORT OF SURVEY THEY HAD MADE. NIMEIRI RESPONDED HELPFULLY BUT SECRETIVELY. SUDAN AIR FORCE C-130'S CARRIED RELIEF. AIRWAYS AND RAILWAYS WERE GIVEN FRESH DIRECTIVES TO END "SABOTAGE" CLAIMED BY SOUTHERNERS AND NEW FUEL ROUTE UP WHITE NILE WAS OPENED (KHARTOUM 3733). FOOD AND FUEL SITUATION HAS BEEN "TURNED AROUND" ACCORDING SR MINISTER OF COMMERCE, TRADE AND SUPPLY IN KHARTOUM IN MID-AUGUST. ALTHOUGH ANTI-SOUTH SABOTAGE PERHAPS DID NOT EXIST, SOUTHERNERS CITE 1978 FOOD CRISIS AS ADDITIONAL JUSTIFICATION FOR DEVELOPING THEIR OWN TRADE WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND FOR ESTABLISHING INDEPENDENT (NON-NORTHERN) TRANSPORT AGENCIES. SEVERAL MAJOR COMMITTEES HAVE BEEN FORMED BY LAGU TO IMPLEMENT WAYS TO BREAK ANNUAL CYCLES OF FOOD AND FUEL SHORTAGES THROUGHOUT REGION WHERE "ELECTRICITY IS LUXURY" AND LOCAL FOOD CANNOT GET TO CONSUMERS. PROGRESS TO DATE, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN INCONSPICUOUS.

4. "NATIONALISTIC" SELF-SUFFICIENCY IS MOST STARTLING OF NEW SR GOVERNMENT'S OBJECTIVES. LAGU AND HIS REGIME PLAN TO CREATE REGION WITHIN UNIFIED SUDAN WHICH IS MORE AUTO-CONFIDENTIAL

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NOMOUS AND LESS VULNERABLE TO COERCION (READ: LEADERSHIP) FROM KHARTOUM. SOUTHERNERS RESENT PRESENT STATUS OF HELP-LESS DEPENDENCY ON NORTH. OF COURSE, SOUTH REMAINS FIRMLY LOYAL TO NIMEIRI AND IS EAGER TO DEFEND HIM AGAINST DOMESTIC ENEMIES. IN FACT, SR CLAIMS TO ENDURE MUCH (SUCH AS ARABIC LANGUAGE REQUIREMENT) IN ORDER TO AVOID EMBARRASSING NIMEIRI WITH HIS MUSLIM SUPPORTERS. HOWEVER, LAGU AND HIS FOLLOWERS WANT TO BE IN STRONGER POSITION TO NEGOTIATE WITH NIMEIRI'S SUCCESSOR WHENEVER ONE COMES. THEY AIM AT MORE UNITED, CHAUVINISTIC AND ECONOMICALLY CAPABLE REGION WHICH CAN DEAL WITH NORTH ON EQUAL BASIS. THUS LAGU HAS RECALLED EX-REBEL SOLDIERS TO SR CIVILIAN PAYROLLS TO KEEP "PATRIOTS" AVAILABLE AND HAS SECRETLY ENCOURAGED LOCAL MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST NORTHERN COMMERCE IN SOUTH. SR IS QUIETLY HANDLING ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF SUDANESE FOREIGN POLICY TO BYPASS KHARTOUM BUREAUCRACY AND ESTABLISH DIRECT PERSONAL LINKS. SECESSION IS NOT DESIRED OR FORSEEN BUT LAGU HOPES TO MAKE SECESSION REASONABLY PLAUSIBLE OPTION

AS LAST RESORT IF KHARTOUM GOVERNMENT CHANGES ADVERSELY
FOR SOUTH.

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5. THESE THREE OBJECTIVES OF NEW SR GOVERNMENT ARE PURSUED
WITH EYE ON TWO OTHER ACTORS IN SUDANESE POLITICS: CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT AND ABEL ALIER'S SOUTHERN OPPOSITION. ANIMOSITY
BETWEEN LAGU'S FOLLOWERS, WHO ARE DISUNITED THEMSELVES,
AND OUSTED-INCUMBENTS OF ALIER'S REGIME IS BASED MOSTLY ON
RIVALRY FOR OFFICE, ALTHOUGH ACCUSATIONS OF DISHONESTY
AND INCOMPETENCE STILL RANKEL. BOTH GROUPS CONTAIN MANY
SELF-WILLED INDIVIDUALS AND HETEROGENEOUS IDEOLOGIES.
VIEWING OPPOSITION AS MORE OF DRAG THAN OBSTACLE TO HIS
OBJECTIVES, LAGU SEEKS TO WIN OVER, COOPT OR NEURTALIZE
LOSERS OF LAST ELECTION. SIGNIFICANCE OF SOUTHERN OPPOSITION
LIES IN ITS POTENTIAL AS POLITICAL ALLY OF NORTHERN FAC-
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TIONS WHICH MAY IN FUTURE BE HOSTILE TO LAGU.

6. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT RELATIONS WITH SR ARE UNEASY BUT CIVIL. NO AFFECTION IS WASTED BUT AT MOMENT SR NEEDS FOOD, FUEL AND MONEY FROM KHARTOUM BUREAUCRACY. NIMEIRI'S LONGEVITY IS IMPORTANT TO SOUTH. IT IS LESS IMPORTANT HOWEVER TO FOLLOW NIMEIRI'S LEADERSHIP COMPLETELY SINCE BOTH SIDES REALIZE HE WILL NOT GO TO WAR AGAIN EVEN IF FRUSTRATED. THEREFORE LAGU'S GOVERNMENT IS MUCH LESS SUBSERVIENT THAN ALIER'S WAS IN DEALING WITH CENTRAL BUREAUCRACY. KHARTOUM OFFICIALS ARE UNIVERSALLY DISTRUSTED BY SOUTH WITH GOOD REASON - PAYROLLS HAVE OFTEN BEEN MONTHS LATE IN REACHING SOUTHERN EMPLOYEES, FOR EXAMPLE - AND PRESUMABLY THIS ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH PORTIONS OF SUDANGOV WILL GROW AS FAST AS PROGRESS OF SOUTHERN SELF-SUFFICIENCY ENABLES THEM TO INDULGE IN SELF-EXPRESSION. FOR NEAR FUTURE, SR WILL NOT EXCESSIVELY BITE ON HAND THAT FEEDS IT.

7. PERTINENT TO POLITICAL SURVEY IS REMINDER ABOUT SOCIAL ATTITUDES. NORTHERNERS WITH RARE EXCEPTIONS GROSSLY MIS-UNDERSTAND SOUTH. NORTHERN ATTITUDE IS THAT NORTH DEFEATED THOSE LESS CIVILIZED TRIBES IN 1972 AND SR SHOULD NOW BE GRATEFUL FOR MERE TOLERATION. "NORTHERN" AID TO SR NOW COMES AT EXPENSE OF NEW SCHOOLS, ROADS, JOBS AND DEVELOPMENT FOR ARAB MUSLIM PROVINCES WHICH DID NOT REBEL AND EQUALLY DESERVE HELP. ECONOMIC PROGRESS FOR SR IS VIEWED WITH SUSPICION AND ANIMUS IN NORTH. EVEN NORTHERN ELITE SEEM TO EXPECT SR TO REMAIN EITHER BURDEN OR UNFAIR COMPETITION. EQUAL PARTNERSHIP IS NOT FORESEEN.

8. SOUTHERN ATTITUDES TOWARD NORTH ARE EQUALLY UNSATISFACTORY. SOUTHERNERS BELIEVE THEY "WON" WAR AGAINST NORTH BY ACHIEVING SELF-GOVERNMENT (ALTHOUGH AT RUINOUS

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COST). SOUTH THEREFORE CONCLUDES NORTH OWES THEM COMPENSATION AND SHOULD HELP THEM "CATCH UP" AFTER PROLONGED WAR. THEY ARE CONFIDENT THAT, GIVEN FAIR CHANCE, SOUTH WILL EVENTUALLY SURPASS NORTH IN MODERNIZATION BECAUSE OF GREATER NATURAL RESOURCES AND DIFFERENT VALUE SYSTEM. SOUTHERNERS ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT THEY GET THEIR FAIR SHARE OF WHATEVER OIL REVENUES MAY RESULT FROM CHEVRON ACTIVITY; SOME OF COMPANY'S DRILLING OPERATIONS ARE IN SOUTHERN REGION. MOST SOUTHERNERS AND NORTHERNERS REALIZE THAT OTHER SIDE DOES NOT VALUE THEIR RESPECTIVE CULTURES, WHICH OF COURSE EXACERBATES MUTUAL DISLIKE. IN ONE SENSE, THEREFORE, UTTER LACK OF DECENT COMMUNICATIONS

BETWEEN TWO AREAS IS BLESSING IN DISGUISE UNTIL
NATIONAL PATRIOTISM IS MORE DEVELOPED.

9. IMPLICATIONS FOR USG POLICY OF PRESENT STATUS OF SR
ARE NOT DISCOURAGING. IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE, SR DOES NOT
CONSTITUTE THREAT TO NIMEIRI AND MAY REPRESENT AN ASSET TO
HIM. HOWEVER, COMPLEX NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS MAY BECOME
UNPREDICTABLE IN EVENT OF SEVERE POLITICAL TURMOIL IN SUDAN.
DIRECT USG ASSISTANCE TO SR WOULD BE BENEFICIAL AND WOULD
BE ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH OVERALL U.S. ASSISTANCE
POLICIES AS WELL AS OUR SPECIFIC GOALS AND OBJECTIVES
IN SUDAN. U.S. HELP TO SR WILL BE ENCOURAGED BY
NIMEIRI. AS JOSEPH LAGU AND HIS NEW GOVERNMENT MAKE
PROGRESS TOWARDS THEIR GOALS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND
SOUTHERN SELF-SUFFICIENCY, POLITICAL EQUATIONS IN SUDAN
MAY CHANGE WITH CHANGING PERCEPTIONS. DESPITE EVER-
PRESENT INTER-REGIONAL CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
PROBLEMS DESCRIBED ABOVE, WE BELIEVE THAT SOUTHERN REGION
WHICH MOVES DELIBERATELY TOWARD ITS DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND
MAKES SLOW PROGRESS TOWARDS ITS OVERALL OBJECTIVES IS
FULLY CONSISTENT WITH U.S. INTERESTS IN SUDAN.
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